1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine.

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling.

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe.

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight.

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

112 Pig hunting *Becoming a Kwoma*

224 [385] is an occupation which a Kwoma male does for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usually hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hunter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

224 482 483 • [251] After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shepherd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

224 The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butchering usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Gwiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwams were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Gwiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them mam but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Tambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Gwiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Gwiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Gwiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Gwiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Gwiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

251 [252] Pig flesh is preserved by boiling it first with yams, bananas and spinach. The broth is eaten and the pieces of meat removed from the cooking pan and smoked. A platform of green boughs is made, the height varying from two to four feet depending on the amount of flesh to be smoked. A fire is made under the platform and kept burning continually for three or four days. The flesh is then put in <u>nuuvivavi</u>, a bamboo cage, where it hung over the ordinary cooking fire so that its smoke reaches the flesh as much as possible.